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FORWARD -- 1974 –
articles by Ross Dowson (& under pseudonym Ken Napier)

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Vote, elect an NDP government

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

forward

Vol. 1, No. 1. July 1974 Toronto 20 cents

Who actually owns Canada? Who really runs Canada?

by the Editors

Who Owns Canada! Who Runs Canada? And who should own and rule Canada? In whose interests should the great wealth created by the sweat and blood of the working people be used and developed? For the production of what goods and what services? Who should determine their quality and their availability? And how should they be distributed?

That is the central issue confronting the people of Canada day-in and day-out. It is the central issue that is posed by this election right across the country.

The people of Canada have an opportunity to answer these questions by either voting for the Liberals or Progressive Conservatives, both parties of Capital, or by voting Labor, for the NDP. Abstention, as advocated by the P.Q. in Quebec, only favors the Liberal-Tory parties of the status quo.

By the simple fact that there is an NDP candidate in every riding in the country; that the NDP is a labor party firmly rooted in the working class and endorsed by the almost two million strong Canadian Labour Congress; that the NDP is already in office in Saskatchewan, Manitoba and BC; and that for possibly the first time it appears as a credible alternative to thousands of workers suffering under the price gouging and housing crisis, it poses that challenge and the Canadian people have an opportunity to answer these questions in a clear and unequivocal way — by voting NDP.

But this NDP campaign marks a distinct advance. This election, the NDP's chief spokespersons are themselves actually articulating these as the central issues.

In the NDP's campaign kickoff speech to the Ontario provincial executive, Party Leader Lewis, after referring to last election's campaign which centered on the corporate tax and resources rip-off of the Canadian people, said; "in the present campaign we intend to broaden the issues beyond the inequitable tax system ... . we are going to pose the blunt and increasingly urgent question: who runs Canada?

"Is it really parliament? Is it really the people with their individual and collective voting power? Or is it the anonymous, unelected and almost utterly unresponsive cluster of decision makers, who decide what we will buy, when it will be available and what we shall pay for it? The answer," he said, "is obvious to every thinking Canadian. Under the Liberals and Conservatives the corporations run Canada."

Using the fingers of the human hand to demonstrate the overriding control that the national and particularly the multinational corporate owners have over every aspect of Canadian society, Lewis came to the overbearing function of the corporate thumb. "It lies heavily across the government institutions of our country," he said, "controlling the financing of the traditional political parties and determining, whatever the Liberals and Tories may pretend, that corporate power in Ottawa never, ever goes into opposition."

"The time has come to settle the question as to who runs Canada and to settle it in favor of the Canadian people . . . Canada cannot have a genuine social democracy until the power to make economic decisions, the power to set social priorities is wrested from the hands of the corporations and placed in the hands of the people through a parliament and a government which has removed the corporate thumb from Canada's economic and political life line."

We subscribe to these words!

Of course it is not difficult to criticize the NDP, to point to the questionable qualities of many of its candidates, to certain shortcoming and gaps in its program, and even to the reformist illusions of the leadership which are the underpinnings of these serious shortcomings and gaps.

But such criticisms, no matter how correct, do not constitute a position in the election debate that is dominating the mass media, and which everyone is caught up in. The NDP does pose a real alternative, as a labor party, to the twin political tools of the capitalist class — the Liberals and Tories. A powerful vote behind the NDP and its election into office in Ottawa would mark a significant stride forward to a socialist Canada.

forward

Vol. 1 No. 1 - July 1974

Editor: Ross Dowson

FORWARD is published in the interests of working people by the Forward Publishing Association. It is printed by Charters Publishing Co. Ltd., a union shop. Signed articles express the opinions of the writers and are not necessarily the opinions of the publishers. Mail should be addressed to Forward, Box 778, Adelaide St. P.O. Toronto. M5C 2K1

How we see it

by the Editors

Welcome to the readership of **Forward**!

As spelled out on our masthead, **Forward** is a paper published in the interests of the working people. It is written from the point of view of scientific socialism.

It is our view that we need a new type of society in which the vast resources of the country will be planned and developed for production on the basis of "from each according to his or her ability", and in which the necessities of life will be distributed for human use and not for profit, "to each according to his or her needs". This great liberatory idea and its possibility of realization have not permeated the minds of the vast majority of workers, either in the unions or in their labor party, the NDP.

The editors and associates of **Forward** are not only convinced that socialism is a good idea, but that it is necessary to establish workers' power in order to even commence to solve any of the major problems confronting us. We seek to promote this profoundly revolutionary idea and to help organize those who are coming to understand this necessity and to organize to increase our fighting capacity so it can be won.

The problem of how to get to socialism — how to most effectively intervene in the class struggle that permeates Canadian capitalist society and how to resolve it in the interests of the workers — has resulted in the development of several main currents or tendencies. **Forward** is an advocate of what has come to be known, from the name of its greatest exponent Leon Trotsky, as the Trotskyist viewpoint.

The persons who have joined together to publish **Forward** were for a varying number of years associated with another paper called Labor Challenge. After a profound experience of over two years duration, we reluctantly came to the conclusion that Labor Challenge had jettisoned its past and fallen prey to a great danger that confronts all radical formations that are divorced, through no fault of their own, from the working class. This danger is the opposite of opportunism, well-known by radicals — it is sectarianism. This is illustrated, for those interested in checking it out, in a comparison of how Labor Challenge stands on the growing nationalism in Canada which is a response to the process of the continuing economic integration of Canada with the United States; and on the question of the labor party — the NDP.

We of **Forward**, while internationalist in our perspective to the core, consider the rising nationalist consciousness in Canada to be by no means reactionary. As we stated in debate almost a year and a half ago, it "is giving impetus and new dimension to the rank-and-file struggle against the trade union bureaucracy and for union democracy." **Forward** recognizes the key role of this consciousness in the radicalization and intends to link up the essentially anticapitalist dynamic of this new nationalism with socialist conclusions. Our contention about its essential character has been born out in a most remarkable way by events at the Canadian Congress of Labor convention as reported in this issue.

Those associated with the publication of **Forward** have long held to the concept that the NDP is a labor party — that it is the mass expression of the developing politicization of the Canadian working class as a whole. With this understanding of its key significance, we support the NDP, not uncritically of course, but with a long range, strategic concept.

We think that the Canadian working people should enter the NDP in the spirit of establishing "workers' control", and that they should fight to win it to a class struggle program — win it to socialism, that is, to a socialist perspective. Out of this struggle we are convinced that the forces that are necessary to replace capitalist society with socialism will be won.

We hope that you find **Forward** interesting, that you find it useful, that you will tell us your opinion and, if you are able, that you will help us spread its words.

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forward Vol. No.2 - Sept. 1974

Pull Cdn-UN troops out of Cyprus now!

by the Editors

When asked as to whether her brother's death was an honorable one, Madelyne Perron cried out: "No. No. No. It was a waste of his life!"

Perron was in Cyprus as a member of Canada's contingent in the 2,300 UN troops there. They are in Cyprus as "peace keepers." Canadian troops have been there in this guise for over ten years. When the crisis escalated, resulting in the death and wounding of tens of thousands of Greek and Turkish Cypriots, Canada was approached for additional forces.

External Affairs Minister Sharp, while he expressed appropriate anxiety and impatience, agreed to and has already upped the Canadian commitment from 486 to 950. While heretofore their arsenal was limited to rifles and machine guns, Canadian forces are now armed with anti-tank weapons and armoured personnel carriers and reconnaissance cars. To mollify unease he promised

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Out of Cyprus now!

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the whole matter would be reviewed by his government December 15th. Defence Minister Richardson shored up Sharp by warning that the UN general secretary would have had to accept other offers, from other members in good standing in the UN, namely the USSR or one of her allies — if Canada had not responded.

What have the UN troops and the Canadian contingent achieved over their 10 years in Cyprus? No one can claim that they have kept the peace!

While arguing for a continued Canadian presence, with the lame exuse of honoring "obligations undertaken," the editors of the **Toronto Star** make the revealing comment: "peacekeeping was merely a front to hide preparations for the next battle, and Canada has acquiesced in this conspiracy of procrastinations."

When Private Perron arrived in Cyprus the framework of Canadian-UN peacekeeping was that Makarios was in office. When Perron was killed, peacekeeping was defending the deal worked out in Geneva by Athens, Ankara and London. The Greek officials at Geneva were members of the substitute team for the military junta that had carried out the coup against Cypriot President Makarios. The Turkish officials were there by fact of their forcible seizure and occupation of one third of the island. The British were there as the previous colonial occupiers of the island since they seized it from Turkey, and retain key military bases to this day.

What peacekeeping means today and in the immediate future is by no means clear, except in one sense — it will not by any means be determined by the needs or wishes of the Cypriot masses, but rather by the NATO powers — and primarily by the U.S. State Department.

The editors of the Toronto **Globe and Mail** have gone so far as to call for the end of Canadian presence in Cyprus. They don't argue the need to honor "obligations undertaken" in Cyprus. Their view is long range and cynically frank. Their concern is that Canada's continued involvement is making "its claim to impartiality so suspect by its readiness to serve as a waterboy to the American team." They don't want Canada to waste its usefulness to U.S. imperialism.

The Canadian people's concern however is that they not be used as a pawn of imperialism in its machinations against the working people across the globe. They must demand the withdrawal of Canadian troops from Cyprus — and now, before many more are killed and wounded.

Forward launches drive for $4,000

With this issue of **Forward** we are launching a campaign for $4,000. Our aim is to put financial foundation under this paper. We need this sum as a minimum to get things underway — to publish **Forward** on a regular basis over the next immediate period, and to prove, not only its usefulness but its necessity to everyone we can reach with it. Our drive commences on September 1st and closes on October 31.

The campaign commences even before this public appeal with slightly over $1,000 on hand towards its objective. This amount has been raised over the last week from a very limited number of men and women actively involved in the NDP, in the trade unions, the women's and the student movement, most of them in the Socialist League, who already, from their own hard-won experience know the need for **Forward** and are prepared to do whatever is necessary to assure its publication.

The aim of **Forward** is both truly awesome and disarmingly simple. We intend to express as clearly and consciously as we are able, the deep and contradictory aspirations of the working people of this country, to stimulate their critical spirit, and to sharpen their discontent and aspirations onto the path of socialist consciousness. **Forward** aims to be a key instrument in the education, agitation and organization of the forces that will establish a socialist Canada.

Forward is appearing at a crucial time. Socialism is once more being widely discussed within the NDP. Young militants are coming forward in the trade unions. Unions are entering into a new phase of struggles. Not since the thirties are there so many persons who consider themselves revolutionary socialists.

Nonetheless, one of the most striking aspects of this promising situation is the lack of unity of these component forces and the largely spontaneist character of their responses to the challenges before them.

Without arrogance we intend to bring to this promising situation the experiences that we have assimilated over some years of participation in the struggles in the NDP, in the unions and in the women and youth radicalization, and to fuse them with the sum total of the teachings of all past workers' struggles across the globe, codified by Leon Trotsky in the Transitional Program.

We are asking our readers for money. It is not easy for workers in these days of inflationary price gouging to accumulate money. We have already accumulated the flesh, the nerves and the energy to put **Forward** together. We are prepared to take it out into the NDP, into the unions and into the meetings and the actions across the country. You can free us to concentrate on those tasks by sending in money. We are asking you for the tools; for the typesetting, for the ink, and for the paper that goes into the production of **Forward**.

Send whatever amount you can contribute and if necessary in installments to **Forward** Box 778 Adelaide Street P.O., Toronto M5C 2K1.

forward
Editor: Wayne Roberts
Vol. 1 No. 3 - Oct. 1974

Morgentaler confronts Supreme Court showdown

by the Editors

On October 2nd, Henry Morgentaler will appear before the highest judicial body in Canada to hear his fate.

Dr. Morgentaler's case has a long history. Though acquitted by a jury of his peers after being charged under Canada's anti-abortion laws, the decision was reversed by the Quebec Court of Appeal in a move which appeared to many to be an affront to the jury system. "This law does not require respect, it demands obedience," the trial judge stated angrily before sentencing Morgentaler to one and a half years in jail.

The appeal from this decision, to be heard by the Supreme Court of Canada, takes place at a time when Otto Lang, Canada's "Justice" Minister, has called for a law to make hospitals liable for "failure to exercise responsibility" in approving abortion actions too freely.

Lang's sabre-rattling has already given the green light to the arbitrary dictates of individual hospital doctors or boards. The Women's College Hospital family planning clinic in downtown Toronto has performed only two abortions since July 1st. Even the number of abortions for patients admitted on a private doctor-patient basis has declined by 33 percent. In Niagara Falls, the Niagara General Hospital's board of governors has cracked down on its therapeutic abortion committee and imposed restrictions on gynecologist Ken Walker, a local doctor who upholds the right of

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Supreme Court Showdown

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women to choose. The number of abortions that the hospital performed through mid-1974 was down from the previous year by seventy-five.

Phyllis Curry, the public health nurse who is in charge of the Central Abortion Referral and Education Service in Toronto, has said that the crackdown at Toronto's Women's College Hospital "just highlights what is happening." The Toronto **Globe and Mail** on September 25th listed a number of hospitals, VD and birth control centres, and family planning clinics who have cut back their services out of fear or as a result of government cutbacks in financing. With only 260 out of 1,300 hospitals providing abortion service in Canada, the crackdown Lang is encouraging can deprive thousands of women of the right to choose.

Lang's outspoken statements on abortion have a long history. As the darling of the 'right-to-lifers', he emerged during the federal election as the chief partisan of anti-abortion sentiment in the government. The crackdown which he has initiated on hospitals performing abortions would be given decisive impetus if the Supreme Court upholds Morgentaler's conviction.

Dr. Morgentaler, throughout the lengthy court procedures, has continued to argue that women should be permitted to choose whether they wished to terminate a pregnancy or continue with it. He has posed his case in the most political light.

The decision of the Supreme Court, which may be unavailable for some time after the hearing itself, will be made under intense political pressures, both from the Justice Minister and from those who have rallied to Morgentaler's defence.

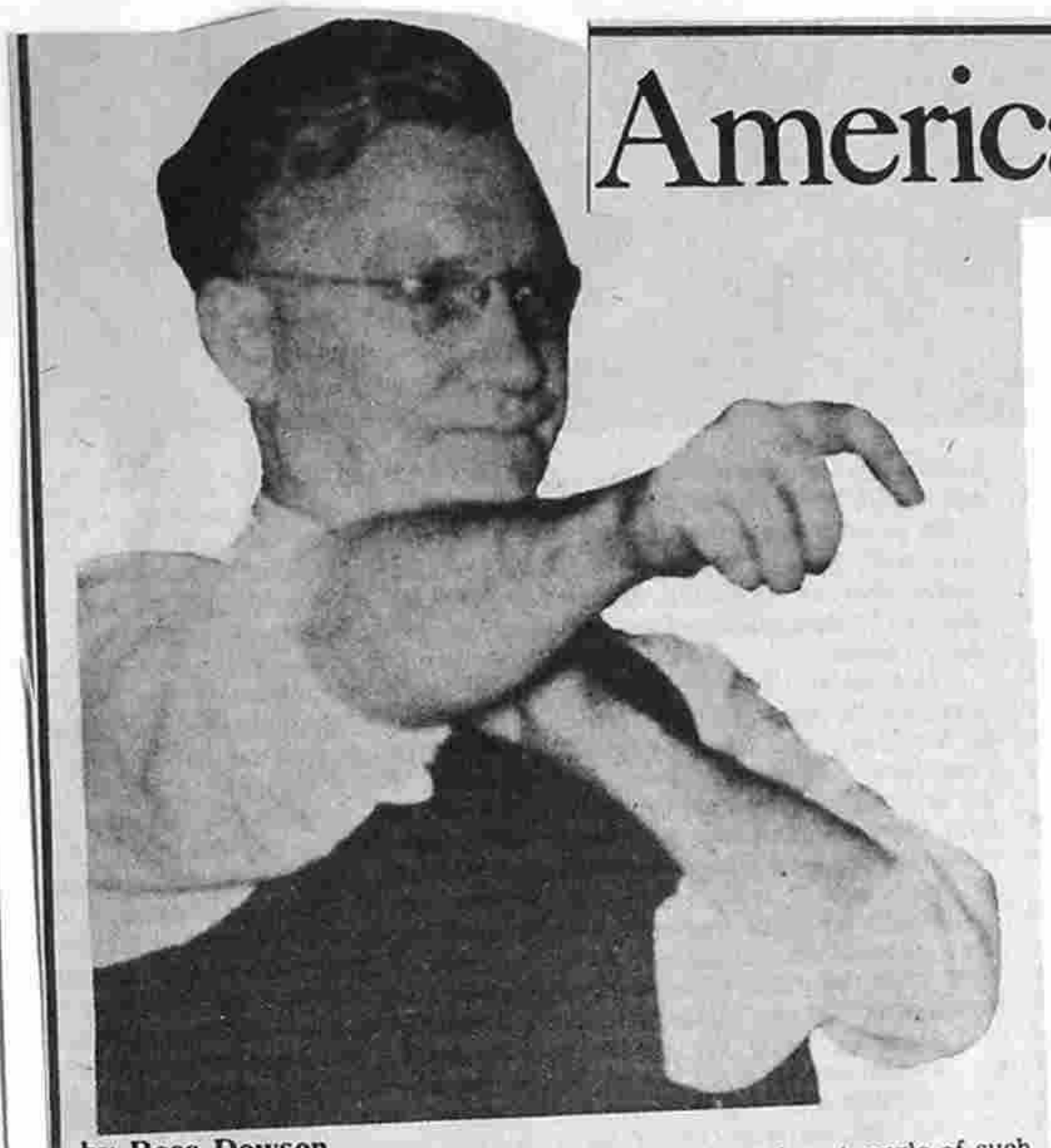
At least six different groups, including Alliance for Life and the Canadian Civil Liberties Association, have been granted status to present arguments before the Supreme Court of Canada. There are only a few rare precedents in Canada's entire history for permitting such "interventions" in a criminal matter. It is obvious the Supreme Court is preparing to make a decision which may affect the lives of thousands of women.

The politically sensitive Supreme Court, under Chief Justice Bora Laskin, will have to choose between forcing thousands of women to backstreet butchers or making abortion available to all.

If justice is to be done, Morgentaler must be found innocent.

forward Vol. 1 No. 3 - October 1974

American socialist fighter



by Ross Dowson

Jim Cannon is gone.

His death in Los Angeles at the age of 84 severed the last living and vital link of today's US revolutionary socialist movement with Gene Debs, Big Bill Haywood and the pioneer socialist and industrial trade union movement of which they have become the symbols.

Cannon's unshakeable confidence in the American revolution, in the US working class and in its capacity to build the revolutionary party, sustained him as an active participant over the entire duration of his 70 years as a conscious revolutionist.

At the time of his death, Cannon was the national chairman emeritus of the Troskyist Socialist Workers Party with which his life is inextricably entwined. His central aim was to overcome the most powerful and ruthless capitalist ruling class that the world has yet seen and establish a socialist democracy through a party that would fuse together the leadership of the varied movements of the working people into coordinated and centralized combat.

Looking at the man as a whole, he was the best equipped and most capable of his generation in directing this liberating struggle of such worldwide, decisive significance. Deprived of the opportunity of leading this struggle to its revolutionary climax by a complex of historic processes, Cannon nevertheless did what was possible. Through his writings and, above all, as a result of the cadre that he was able to fuse together in the Socialist Workers Party, Cannon left a solid foundation for continuing the socialist struggle.

He saw that the central task of his own generation and of subsequent ones as well was to agitate, educate and organize the struggle for a socialist United States. Cannon was intolerant of petit bourgeois intellectual dabblers and dilettantes — particularly those who played with, maneuvered or manipulated the proletarian party.

From the day when Cannon, 18-years-old at the time, joined the Socialist Party and then the Industrial Workers of the World, he shaped himself to build the party of socialist combat. During these formative, stormy class struggle years, Cannon joined the pioneering full-time socialists who crossed the country selling the socialist press, writing for it, speaking on street

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corners and participating in and defending the great battles sweeping the continent.

It was inevitable that Jim would find himself in the ranks of those women and men militants who opposed World War I, and who identified with the revolution where it took power — in Russia. Cannon saw that the revolution worked, but he wanted to know what made it work and how it worked. His search led him to answer Lenin and Trotsky's call through the Third International to form the early Communist Party of the United States. The Russian Revolution and Jim Cannon's participation with his US coworkers in the Third International, which attempted to generalize the experience of the Bolshevik party to workers across the globe, transformed him into a genuine internationalist.

With the ebb of the revolutionary wave, the isolation of the first workers' republic and the innumerable difficulties besetting it, a conservative clique headed by Stalin arose and commenced to maneuver and interfere in the internal affairs of the national sections, including the US Communist Party.

At this juncture, when Cannon was perplexed by what he was experiencing, Maurice Spector, a leader of Canada's Communist Party, whose insight, gained from his study of Trotsky and his contact with Left Opposition currents in Germany, was more profound, searched out and found Cannon in the American CP.

In a subcommittee of the Sixth World Congress of the Third International, held in Moscow, Jim Cannon and Spector obtained a copy of Trotsky's suppressed Criticism of the Draft Program proposed for adoption at the Congress. Whatever doubts Cannon may have had about Maurice Spector's analysis of the problems of the Comintern and his partisanship of Trotsky's Left Opposition current in the Russian CP, quickly evaporated.

Trotsky's critique of Stalin's theory of socialism in one country, and its logical corollary that would transform the Communist Parties from instruments of socialist revolution to border guards of the Soviet Union, clarified for Cannon and Spector the problems confronting the Canadian and US Communist Parties. Trotsky's Criticism of the Draft Program launched the struggle for a return to Leninist principles around the program of the Russian Opposition in the parties across the world.

Through the pages of the Militant which Cannon edited in New York and with the modest resources of Pioneer Publishers, Cannon's political savvy and organizational skill pulled together the skeletal forces that were part of this global struggle.

Thus, James P. Cannon, above all, emerged as Trotsky's foremost collaborator, and his American associates the key element in the early efforts to build a principled faction in the CPs across the world and later, after the Stalinization of the Comintern, in the founding of a new world party of socialist revolution, the Fourth International.

Through his association with Trotsky, his program and his concept of the Fourth International, Cannon and his few supporters became instrumental in building the Socialist Workers Party and at the same time preserving the Trotskyist program and projecting it to the new layers of radicals who are now rallying to its side.

But the internationalist Cannon was above all an American — in the same sense that Lenin was uniquely Russian and Jean Jaures particularly French. Cannon came from the American working class and everything he said and did was firmly situated in it and rooted to it. As an effective street corner speaker he learned early to present and develop his ideas in terms of the genuine experiences of the working class and American revolutionary tradition. He studied the United States and its working people, both their past and their present. He grasped fully the great dynamism of American society and the essential rebelliousness of its people, and he articulated their feelings and aspirations with great integrity and empathy and, on occasions, with powerful evocations. Cannon's Americanism was an integral part of his style and it could be correctly said to be the essence of his being.

Among Cannon's writings — he learned how to do that too — are to be found some of the most powerful examples of socialist agitation and propaganda available. These include **America's Road to Socialism, The Coming American Revolution, Notebooks of an Agitator** and **Socialism on Trial**. This last book contains the actual court room evidence Cannon and his 17 co-defendants gave in defence of their opposition to the Second Imperialist World War on the trumped-up charge of being advocates of force and violence — a powerful antidote to the puerile romanticism of the "plate glass" and "with the gun" revolutionists.

All his writings and speeches are permeated with an irreconcilable hatred of capitalism, which is always the framework of his attacks on the Stalinist and reformist misleaders, and with an implacable demand for social justice.

But his key writings are those dealing with the problems of building the proletarian party. From all the evidence at hand, particularly their role in the anti-Vietnam war movement, the cadres that have been gathered together in the Socialist Workers Party stand as a fitting tribute to his memory. And that, barring a socialist America itself, is how he would have had it.

BOOKS BY JAMES P. CANNON

Socialism on Trial	2.50
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History of American Trotskyism	3.45

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advertisement

forward Vol. 1 No. 3
October 1974

CANADA'S BRANCH PLANT IMPERIALISM

by Ross Dowson

Canada has what could be called a high profile in the world political arena, particularly when you consider its small population and limited economic weight in the world economy.

It has armed forces at many points across the globe, both as a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and as a heavy contributor to the United Nations forces assigned to such explosive points as Cyprus, Egypt, Palestine etc. It recognized China in advance of the United States and maintained diplomatic relations with Cuba all during the State Department's blockade. It played an up-front role in the International Control Commission in Vietnam. It participates in the big international lending agencies such as the International American Development Bank and the World Bank. It maintains institutions like the Canadian International Development Agency which, with a budget of 600 million a year, sustains aid programs that some 980 Canadian students and technicians carry on across the Third World. And it supplies nuclear materials to impoverished India which obviously gave it the capacity to manufacture the nuclear bomb that was set off last month, and is now winding up similar arrangements with the venal South Korean government.

Canada has certainly come a long way since a few years back when Prime Minister Mackenzie King carried on the affairs of the foreign office from his jacket pocket.

The rise of Canada to such prominence, in consort with the great imperialist world powers, has caused some to see Canada as having become a leading imperialist power. This opinion is held, notwithstanding the fact that it would have come to pass in the epoch of world imperialist decay and while the Canadian economy itself has fallen under the domination of the super imperialist power — the United States of America.

Certainly Canada is imperialist. But is it one of the major colonial imperialist powers in the world—or is this prominent role in the world political arena not just a function of its capitalist imperialist character but above all its satellitic, its junior partner 'honest broker' relationship with the United States?

The first evidence that is usually presented to prove that Canada is a major imperialist power is the West Indies. As they did for the British before them the West Indies also served as an important area of primary accumulation of capital for the Canadian capitalist class. But an examination of Canadian capitalism's interests in the West Indies today serves not as evidence of the power of Canadian capital but its new and satellitic relations with US capitalism.

According to Kari Levitt's 1967 book **Canada—West Indies Economic Relations**, "Canada has more trading investment interests in the Caribbean than in any other part of the underdeveloped world . . . In the field of banking, insurance and bauxite alumina production Canadian investment not only is significant but is the main portion of investment in each of these particular industries."

Levitt sets the figure of Canadian investment at 550 million or one-half billion dollars. She estimates that "Canadian" investment in bauxite and alumina extraction and processing is $310 million, concentrated in Jamaica and Guyana—the latter is in the process of being nationalized by the Guyanese government. The company involved is Alcan, which appears sixth on this year's Financial Post list of Canada's largest manufacturing resources and utilities companies.

But the fact is that Alcan is Canadian in name only—it is a part of the giant US Mellon empire. Thus Canadian investment drops precipitously to 240 million dollars. According to Levitt, 100 million is in mortgages, government securities, loans and other assets held by banking and insurance companies, and another 100 million in hotels and similar enterprises which are a source of brutal exploitation of the West Indies peoples. The Bank of Nova Scotia and Barclay's Bank (Br.) control commercial banking. Half of the 24 insurance companies in the area are Canadian and they get 70 per cent of the business.

Over the years, in the face of a decline in the economy, Canadian life insurance companies have been taking out West Indies savings and investing them in more profitable ventures in Canada. Under legislative and moral suasion there has been a reversal in this tendency.

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New US investment in Canada

Last Spring's US Commerce Department projection that US-owned subsidiaries in Canada plan to increase their investment in Canada has been in no way modified by the recession and stock market fall-out.

The report projected an investment of some 4.4 billion dollars, a 16 percent increase of spending on new and expanded operations, compared to 3.8 billion in 1973 which was a 6 percent increase over the previous year.

The projected increase in the manufacturing sector, already over 60 percent foreign (largely US) owned, was to be the largest at 21 percent. This increase and the 17 percent increase in petroleum and coal products, already 99.7 percent foreign (largely US) owned was to be offset by a projected 23 percent decline in investment in mining (68 percent US owned). The figures come from a December 1973 survey of 4,800 foreign affiliates whose majority ownership is in the US. They admittedly do not reflect the impact of the energy crisis on the thinking of US investors in Canadian energy resources.

The latest estimates, according to a June-July survey by McGraw Hill of companies that account for about 50 percent of all capital investment, now place new investment in Canada at almost 5 billion dollars. This survey projects a 32 percent expansion by US manufacturing, petroleum and mining companies in their foreign investment this year to a total of 21.6 billion dollars.

The Common Market countries altogether will account for the largest share — some 30 percent, with all Latin America third — some 16 percent. Canada alone will account for 22 percent.

According to a Canadian Press Washington dispatch a recently released 135 page report of the US business financed International Economy Policy Association made two key observations.

It noted the dependence of the US economy on Canadian iron, asbestos, nickel, aluminum and other vital minerals, recognizing that Canada is the "most important source of industrial raw material for the US" and that the relationship of Canada's economy to the US is such that it "enhances the US security of supply." It also made the observation that "in recent years Canadian public opinion has come to favour greater national determination of economic behaviour and a movement away from 'continentalism' . . ."

Already heavily involved in real estate, these Canadian companies have become involved in tourism—where they are meeting heavy US competition.

US imperialist interests are moving in. They account for 80 per cent of the direct investment that has taken place since the 1950's. Canada's trade with the West Indies has long been very small. However, West Indies imports increased by 71 per cent between 1956 and 1961—with the increase largely coming from the US.

Canadian capitalist interests in the Caribbean, discounting Alcan, are in the marginal areas of the economy. Alcan being actually US owned, the Canadian state in its relations with the governments of the Caribbean tends to increasingly function as a service agency for US imperialist interest which are growing in the Caribbean and are supplanting the longstanding Canadian private capital interests.

Up until 1946 Canadian direct investment abroad stood at the relatively small figure of 772 million, according to government figures. But by 1967 it had undergone a tremendous growth—increasing by more than five times to 4.03 billion dollars. This would appear on the surface to prove that if the Canadian bourgeoisie were not a major power amongst the imperialist powers before, that within the short space of 20 years they have become so.

However, this is the same period when US capital was beginning to really flood into Canada, taking over already established corporations, buying into others, extending its branch plant holdings. The relationship between the US takeover of the commanding heights of the Canadian economy and the meteoric rise of Canadian direct investment abroad would seem to us to be obvious. What we have with Canada is the rise of a branch-plant imperialism.

According to the government brochure "at the end of 1967 the non-resident equity in Canadian direct investment abroad amounted to 1.7 billion or 42.5 per cent of all Canadian direct investment abroad." Thus it turns out that the amount that actually could even be said to be controlled by "residents of Canada" is 2.3 billion. And to this we must add a further precautionary note—investment listed as resident in Canada should by no means be assumed to be private Canadian capital. It may well be almost entirely US capital that has found it advantageous to be domiciled in Canada for tax purposes.

A decision by a US corporate giant to change its domicile from Toronto or Montreal, to Cleveland or San Francisco, can drastically change the amount that appears in the column labelled *Canadian Direct Investment Abroad*. For instance, in its 1972 list of the 100 largest manufacturing, resource and utilities companies in Canada **Financial Post** reported that two that had previously been listed—disappeared. Both were US corporate giants—one having been in the top ten, the other in the top 70. When the Income Tax Act was revised on a basis unsatisfactory to them "they decided to shift their domicile from Canada."

During the 1954-1964 period when Canadian direct investment abroad more than doubled "there was an increase of only 61.8 per cent in direct investment abroad by those corporations and other investors resident in Canada which were themselves either independent or under the control of other Canadians." The big increase, as to be expected, was in the foreign holdings of the US corporate giants "resident in Canada." According to the government brochure, **Direct Investment Abroad by Canada**, "Direct investment by corporations and other investors resident in Canada but controlled from the U.S. increased by 217.5 per cent — from 425 million to 1,307 million dollars."

Significantly what is called Canadian direct investment abroad is by no means located in the colonial or semi-colonial world—on the contrary. It is concentrated in the most powerful imperialist nations and in those areas of their economy where they are highly efficient, Canadian investment is thus partnership, very junior partnership in the businesses of other imperialist powers.

Over 80 per cent is invested in the advanced capitalist countries—more than half of the total, some 54.3 per cent in the United States, 12.8 in the United Kingdom, 8.27 in Ireland, the European Economic Community and Europe, other than the UK and EEC, and 4.2 per cent in Australia. Only 18.6 per cent of all direct investment abroad by Canada, or less than $750 million, is invested in the colonial or semi-colonial world.

Between 1947 and 1967 Canadian investment in the US actually increased five-fold—with about 64 per cent in manufacturing and merchandizing—but again that is capital that is designated as "resident in Canada."

Referring to such companies as Ford Motor Co. of Canada Ltd., Falconbridge Nickel Mines Limited, Alcan, which are often named in studies of the imperialist exploitation of South Africa, the well-known government sponsored Gray Report states "in some instances their Canadian identity becomes nominal, e.g. Inco and Massey Ferguson." It further asks; "for example are Alcan and Seagrams really Canadian controlled?" Ford Motor Company of Canada with its completely owned subsidiary, Ford Motor Company of South Africa, which heads the list of Canada's largest firms, is also listed as being 88 per cent owned by Ford Motor Co. of Dearborn, Michigan.

In reality the Gray Report's questioning as to the Canadian identity of Inco and Massey Ferguson, and the Canadian control of Alcan and Seagrams, which is to name only a few, flows from the integration of the Canadian economy with that of the United States under the hegemony of United States capitalism.

What then does Canadian imperialism amount to as an extension abroad of the interests of private Canadian capital, and their Canadian national state?

Its direct investments abroad are quite small — 2.33 billion, even accepting that open-ended formula "controlled by residents of Canada." As a state, as a military power on its own, in the arena of colonial repression or inter-imperialist rivalries, Canada is relatively weak. While one of the world's largest trading nations, it is firmly locked into the US economy. Last year it imported 16.5 billions worth of goods from the US and only 2.4 billion from the Common Market. It exported $17 billions worth to the US and only 3 billion to the Common Market.

Canada is imperialist by the fact that, with an advanced capitalist economy it is an integral part of the world-wide imperialist economic

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system. But above all Canada is imperialist, not as an economic power but from its de jure existence as an independent nation state, from a political point of view — as a "free" associate member of the US dominated imperialist military alliances—NATO-NORAD. Ironically Canada plays out its major imperialist role as a "middle power", as a power allegedly free of any taint of imperialism, as a "non-imperialist power."

As an imperialist power Canada is significant on the world arena insofar as it is integrated with the US—insofar as its economic holdings and interests are interlocked and find expression in harmony with those of the U.S. imperialist colossus. Its intermediary, "honest broker" role between the imperialist powers, its stooge role, primarily for US imperialism, is an accurate reflection of its real position as a capitalist power.

The character of Canadian capitalism as an imperialist "power", the locale and nature of its investments abroad, the fact that it is only a world power as a front or a very junior partner of the world's super-imperialist power, US capitalism, is due not only to Canada's relative weakness in relation to the US colossus (this inferiority it shares to a varying degree with all the capitalist powers). It is determined above all by the facts of U.S. capitalism's domination of Canadian capitalism, within the borders of Canada itself.

Fund drive moves forward

The money is coming in. As we go to press with this issue we are at the halfway mark in our fund drive which ends Oct. 31st. Our $4,000 objective has produced an excellent response. At this point we are more than halfway there with $2,574 accounted for. We have received $1,800 in cash and $674 in solid pledges.

Several people have made pledges on a continuing monthly basis. One aircraft worker, at a plant where we distributed FORWARD, gave us $100 cash and pledged $35 a month. An Oshawa worker pledged even more.

People like FORWARD. The feedback is very encouraging. One new reader, with considerable experience of reading the left press, commented that she had never seen a working class paper at such a high level that was so readable. We don't think we have it made but that is what we are trying to do.

The focus of our attention is on the Canadian class struggle. We intend to express and integrate the developing aspirations of all the parts of the class struggle, all the radicalizing elements that must fuse to eliminate capitalism and build a socialist society. Our special emphasis is on the NDP — the voice of independent working class political action in this country. Our aim is to become a rallying point for leftward moving forces in the NDP

But to do our job we need to achieve our first modest objective of $4,000. One of the facts of political life is that the better we do our job, the more there will be to do! Let's make a good start by going over the top! Mail your contribution to FORWARD, Box 778, Adelaide Street Post Office, Toronto.

CCF–NDP Leader M.J. Coldwell

By P. Kent

The life of M.J. Coldwell, which ended in Ottawa last month after a span of 85 years, throws some considerable insight on the nature of the problems confronting Canada's labor party, the NDP. Coldwell was one of the founders of the CCF and was subsequently a leading influence in the NDP.

He was born in a prosperous conservative family of merchants in England in 1888. He came in contact with and was won over to socialist ideas in the process of participating in debates at Exeter College where he had upheld the capitalist Tory viewpoint. As a student of petit bourgeois origins it was not the strong points of the British Labor Party with its roots in the working class movement and the radical ferment in its ranks, but the views of its parliamentary leadership that had the most influence on him. The socialism with which he came to identify himself was not proletarian or class struggle, but that of the Fabian Society — reformist, exclusively parliamentarist and rooted in supra-class Christian humanism.

The Canadian West with its populist radicalism, where he and his wife settled in 1912, challenged Coldwell into political activity. He became a Regina alderman in 1921 and president of the Canadian Teachers Federation in 1927.

When the depression hit the prairies, not only the urban population but also the farmers searched for radical solutions. In Alberta, their aspirations were diverted by the evangelical preacher Aberhart into the monetary reform movement — Social Credit.

In Saskatchewan, under the influence of such persons as Coldwell, who became in 1930 the first president of the Independent Labor Party, Prairie populism took on a class character. It evolved into the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation founded in 1933.

The CCF, which succeeded in electing him to parliamentary office in 1935, depite connections it made in Eastern Social Democratic circles and in the trade union milieu, remained agrarian based. It was not until the Canadian Congress of Labor (ACCL-CIO) endorsed it as labor's political arm in 1943, and then the Ontario elections of 1948, that it became in reality the labor party which Coldwell had sought to make it.

The essential flaw upon which the CCF was founded, its parliamentarist and reformist concept of the path to power, which flows from an unwillingness to face the state as an instrument of capitalist class oppression that must be replaced, was sharply revealed with the outbreak of World War II.

Committed to oppose all wars fought to make the world safe for capitalism, overnight the entire parliamentary leadership reversed and committed the party to support of World War II. Woodsworth made a personal statement but turned to Coldwell who made the official commitment. When the conscience-striken Woodsworth sought reconsideration, the parliamentary caucus, under the promptings of Coldwell and David Lewis, pushed him aside. Woodsworth died shortly after.

The CCF never succumbed to coalition or popular front concepts. Like the British Labor Party, which read Ramsay MacDonald out of its ranks, the CCF sought parliamentary office and progressive legislation in its own name. In Manitoba, where some parliamentary representatives under Stalinist influence sought such glaring class collaboration, they were roundly repudiated. On the other hand class struggle socialist currents that arose again and again in the CCF were harassed, witch-hunted and purged by the Coldwell leadership.

The massive rise of the colonial peoples in the late '40s and early '50s and the intervention of imperialism to roll it back and crush it put Coldwell and company to the test again. Opposition to Canadian intervention in Korea was widespread and a matter of grave concern to the delegates gathering to the 1950 Vancouver convention. In a keynote address on the very eve of the convention, with his authority as leader of the party, Coldwell committed himself to endorsement of Ottawa's involvement in the Korean war, even criticizing Prime Minister St. Laurent for his failure to act more promptly and fully.

It is the essential theoretical flaw which determines the policies of the CCF-NDP leadership that results in the persistent appearance of left wing formations in the party. They will continue to appear until such time as a working class leadership that is prepared to see the struggle to the end, can pose itself as a serious alternative.

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"Turn Toward Socialism"

Manifesto surfaces in BC-NDP

As socialists, we greet the election of NDP governments as great victories of the working class. At the same time, we recognize that the election of NDP governments does not solve the problems facing working people or socialists in the NDP. In BC, the party ranks are confronting the momentous challenges before it, which include criticisms of the actions and strategy of the NDP parliamentary leadership.

Prior to the recent provincial convention, the executive was prominent in articulating grievances shared by many in the party. Twelve members of the outgoing provincial executive signed the statement "Turn Towards Socialism". Subsequently a "Party Democracy Caucus" adopted this document as the basis for further discussions.

The document demonstrates the continued vitality of the NDP and reflects a searching attempt by New Democrats to come to grips with the problems that capitalism generates. It touches on the key questions of what the responsibilities of an NDP government are and what the tasks are that confront socialists. While Forward reserves comment on the details of the manifesto, it must be said that its overall direction is healthy and vital.

As a contribution to the discussion on the responsibilities of socialists in the party and as an informational service to our readers, we are reprinting this document in its entirety. We encourage readers to send in their comments.

the Editors

During its first two years, the government has introduced legislation such as Mincome, Pharmacare, minimum wage increases, etc., which has improved the living conditions of many people in the province. While most government bills have been supported by all the capitalist parties, it is nevertheless important that it is an NDP government which has introduced these additions and extensions to the welfare state.

At the same time, there has been considerable concern within the NDP over the relationship of the government and the party. Lack of communication between the government and the party, the failure of the government to carry through on its commitments to the party and the lack of accountability to our policy have been the focus of party concern since the government was elected.

But is accountability the central question?

Accountability to party policy is certainly critical. If party policy is not translated into government legislation, and if the party is treated merely as a pressure group and election machine, the NDP, which has provided the only democratic socialist voice in B.C., cannot help but be weakened. And a weak party, in turn, ensures that the energy and base required to support socialist measures will be lacking.

Accountability is not, however, the central issue. The fact is that where our policy has proposed liberal reforms and extensions to the capitalist welfare state, the government has carried through, with the support of the other parties. But democratic socialism means more than a modern welfare state or state capitalism. It substitutes for top-down capitalist institutions a new democracy in which people have real power over all aspects of their lives and in which production and distribution of goods and services are directed toward human needs rather than profits.

We all know that socialism cannot be introduced in one, two or three sittings of the B.C. legislature. But the central question is that of direction — whether government actions are weakening capitalism and substituting in its place elements of a new socialist society, or whether they are curbing minor abuses (while leaving the major abuse), extending welfare state measures (but not giving people real power over their lives) and reinforcing capitalism itself.

Is there a place in a socialist scheme for measures to insure "adequate profits" for corporate landlords, land developers and resource companies? For development plans undertaken without due consideration for their social and environmental effects? For public investments that yield private profits for resource companies? For organizing and sending private B.C. companies to make contacts in foreign markets? For imposing contracts, picketing restrictions and joint councils on trade unions and removing weapons they require? And what does it mean when Crown Corporations (Cancel, B.C. Hydro, etc.,) are run the same way as private capitalist firms?

We should examine whether measures of this type lay the groundwork for a new socialist society, or whether they strengthen the existing system and represent, at best, state capitalism. These are questions to which, at this point, all democratic socialists should give careful consideration.

Many central planks of our party policy, on the other hand, do provide a clear socialist direction:

— making serious inroads into the power and rights of capitalist enterprises: by requiring output and investment plans from firms for the purpose of provincial economic planning by removing the ability of firms to shut down their operations.

— introducing social ownership into areas ill-served by capitalist monopolies (e.g. food distribution, housing, communications) and ensuring that people receive all the benefits of new dynamic industries (e.g. social ownership of industries processing our natural resources).

— changing the balance of power between workers and employers by removing restrictions on picketing; by providing for company books to be open to workers; by breaking down authoritarian relations in industry through worker-representatives, **elected by and responsible to workers**, on the boards of directors of crown corporations and on decision-making bodies in resource companies.

— recognizing and combatting sexism: by creating a real universal program of child care which frees women to work and participate fully in social life; by affirmative action plans which place the onus of sexist discrimination on employers by a Ministry of Women's Rights which has the responsibility and power to fight sexism.

— providing the basis for a new recognition of our relation to and dependence upon the environment: by creating an Environment Ministry which has overriding authority in all matters affecting the environment and from which approval on matters affecting the environment must be received from all other departments.

— introducing and advancing the principle of democratic control in all areas (e.g. education, municipal government, etc.)

Adherence to party policy in these areas (which introduce significant structural changes) would do much to move British Columbia in the direction of a democratic-socialist society. It would set in motion forces which lead to the weakening of capitalist institutions by providing a new socialist framework.

But these are the very areas in which the government has not moved or where it has done so only in a token manner. And unless the government changes its style, involves the party, and works with peoples' movements to develop mass support for its programs, it will not be able to move in a socialist direction.

We are concerned that unless the government embarks upon a program of truly socialist change it will lose the support of people who endorsed our party program. And socialist change cannot be effected by the government alone. Unless it is backed up by the socialist movement itself, organized in defense of the implementation of our central policies, our government may continue to isolate itself, to water down our policy, and be forced to back down before establishment pressures. No mass involvement is required to follow the capitalist road, but a government cannot follow the socialist road by itself.

The past two years have seen our government drift into a pattern of governing that does not incorporate the core of our policy nor involve our membership. Nor has it embarked upon those socialist changes that can kindle the enthusiasm of large numbers of ordinary people, on the job, in the schools, or in their communities.

There is a choice now: the government can move in the direction of socialism by drawing upon the resources of the party to organize mass support behind our socialist program. Or, it can attempt to rest on its welfare state measures, engage in PR campaigns to persuade a passive and unconvinced electorate, and treat those in the party who raise accountability to our socialist program as enemies.

We believe that in the interests of our party and in recognition of the years of effort that have gone into the formation of an NDP government, the time has now come for the government to turn towards socialism and to work with the party in the process of building a new socialist B.C.

Members of the Provincial Executive

Ron Anderson
Alan Artibise
Terri Ash
Hans Brown
Melodie Corrigall
John Gates
Roger Howard
Mike Lebowitz
Sven Robinson
Harold Steves
Hilda Thomas
Sharon Yandle

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NDP candidates needed to win labor control of City Hall

Food bills that are close to highway robbery. Skyrocketting rents. Poisonous pollution. Lack of adequate transportation and public recreational facilities. Cutbacks in all social services.

These and other issues confront voters in major cities across the country. But the chance to vote for a solution is not there.

In federal and provincial elections, working people have the opportunity of voting for a party rooted in the unions and expressing a labor alternative to the unhampered rule of business — the NDP. With the virtual absence of this alternative in the municipal elections, class-conscious workers are virtually disenfranchised.

The failure of the NDP to enter full or even substantial slates in municipal elections is usually explained by two arguments. First, it is said, municipal politics is a non-partisan arena. Secondly, it is urged, an NDP slate would split the progressive vote by alienating important community-based people who are not New Democrats but who would vote for independents.

Both arguments are wrong. There are no genuine "independents" even in city politics. The machines of the old-line parties are behind one or other of all the major candidates. As for interfering with loosely co-ordinated civic reform movements, it must be admitted that they provide no alternative to the NDP.

Toronto has provided the most lucid test for these loose reformers. And they have failed at almost every level.

They have not introduced any meaningful citizen control. The Metro Chairman, recently instrumental in negotiations against the TTC workers, was appointed, not elected. And no one has yet successfully discredited Sewell's reasoning in predicting Godfrey's appointment to this important post: "He is acceptable to the Conservative Party in Queen's Park and he is acceptable to the development industry."

The Council has not even been able to control the police as was revealed in their vicious strikebreaking in the Artistic Woodwork strike. Police chief Adamson firmly rebuked any idea of police responsibility to the public: "I must make unpopular decisions and I must have backing," he insisted.

The Council has failed to better the conditions of working people in any basic and substantial way. They have failed despite the well-intentioned, dramatic and even courageous efforts of alderpersons like Heap, Thomas or Sewell.

They have failed because the very idea on which their activities are based is false. There is no such thing as "independents" or independence in municipal politics. Municipal programs and policies are subject to the whims of provincial and federal governments in everything from educational and social welfare cutbacks to transportation policy. "You can't have socialism in one city," says militant alderperson Dorothy Thomas. "We're affected by decisions at Metro and Queen's Park, and in Ottawa." "And in Washington", added Dan Heap, in their joint interview last year.

Nor can city politicians be independent of the major social basis of policy-

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NDP civic slates needed to win labor City Hall

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decisions, because all politics are a reflection of class interests. Developers have had a heyday with the class contradictions of the reform coalition. "At one point there was a certain proper alliance between the neighbourhood protection tendency and the low-income housing tendency," says Heap. But opposing developers, pure and simple, has not led to any additions to housing stock in a situation that has already reached crisis proportions. And Crombie has been able to sail between the rifts in this reform coalition with perfect ease, towing the line of the developers and big business. As Sewell himself admitted: "Crombie's big job has always been to tie together the liberals and the old guard. He's always forgotten about the reformers. If you look at the hard votes you'll always see the reformers are voting against what Crombie is doing . . . . It's minority government. I'm not saying that's a bad thing — it's just that we thought we won the election. We didn't."

Nor has the neighbourhood served as a viable basis for working-class representation at city hall. As reformer Colin Vaughan lamented: "The people elected this Council with a mandate to change the urban environment, then went home to wait for it to happen. That vacuum is being filled gradually by groups violently opposed to the beliefs of the people who elected us." Certainly this is no alternative to an NDP slate of councillors, responsible to municipal conventions which ensure that they carry out the platform on which they were elected.

Something of the direction that is needed has been provided by the Vancouver Area Council of the NDP which editorialized for a full slate of NDP candidates in Vancouver's upcoming civic elections. Despite their failure to present a full NDP slate, largely out of an unwarranted deference for a loose reform grouping called COPE, they are introducing a concept that will be central in the redefinition of city politics. Their posters emphasize that there are two forces contesting control of the city — big business and the working people. The NDP represents "one side only" — the working people. They have also put forward the important idea of using city hall as an instrument in the struggle for broader social change, as the municipal arm of the struggles on behalf of the oppressed.

An NDP municipal government would be pledged to tenant rights, mass publicly-provided housing under tenant control, public ownership of land and a pro-labor stance. Working with people on the level of their daily problems, they could forge a dynamic base for extending the power and principles of independent labor action.

In the municipal elections ahead, it is important to roll up a big vote for the NDP candidates that are running. But, it is just as important to look a little further ahead, and begin the discussions that can lay the groundwork for future NDP municipal slates. Then the struggles and lessons of the last few years can be made worthwhile.

FUND DRIVE GOES OVER THE TOP

Five months ago, in the midst of the federal elections, **Forward** was born. We stated then our hopes of giving expression to the needs, aspirations and challenges of and before working people. As socialists, we stated our support of the NDP and efforts to win it to socialism. As internationalists, we explained our identification with the developing Canadian nationalist sentiment and its essentially anti-imperialist thrust which we hoped to help develop in the direction of socialism.

Two months ago, we launched a fund drive for $4000. We counted on this financial base to allow us to establish the bare bones of a regular monthly socialist paper.

Today, we are proud to announce that we have gone over the top, collecting $4,300.

While enthusiastically welcoming this success, we take note of the failures and difficulties facing other Canadian publications. **Saturday Night**, a somewhat highbrow nationalist magazine has gone down before the onslaught of **Time** and **Readers Digest**. Even membership in a common magazine association with their opponents could not keep them afloat. The **Toronto Citizen** which aspired to give voice to the radicalism of community groups has also suspended publication — due to labor-management difficulties! While **Forward** is still considerably more modest than either of these publications, we take confidence from the fact that a paper oriented to the working class movement has been able to register a major success.

In thanking our contributors, we reaffirm our pledge to take the vision and lessons of the socialist movement over the century and integrate them with the developing aspirations of Canadian working people.

The challenges before us remain awesome. But with your continued support to inspire us, we are confident of reaching out to our goal.

One final note: the vicious spiral of stagflation has hit us as well as others. Our printers inform us of a 15 percent increase: just about enough to take the surplus off our drive. So, if you missed out, don't hesitate to send in a contribution. The needs of the socialist press don't end with fund drives.

Once again, to our contributors, we offer our warm and hearty thanks.

Citizen Review Board to uproot police brutality

By Ken Napier

The sanctioned existence of mass, organized police violence has been proved beyond doubt by the recent revelations in Toronto's newspapers. An avalanche of facts from widely divergent sources all accuse Toronto's police of a wide variety of acts of violence from use of metal claws as torture devices to beatings almost to the point of death.

The Toronto Star and Globe and Mail for weeks have been competing in the number of copyright headline stories each can print revealing police violence. A nine-part serial in the Globe featured documented "cases" of police beatings, torture, extortion and attempted murder.

Toronto's October 26 Star featured the following front-page headline: "Ex-policeman breaks the code of silence: 'I shared in the beatings'." The story told of a cop who quit Toronto's Finest because he "saw more violence around him than ever before."

Simultaneously, another scandal is rocking Toronto's Don Jail as the existence of an organized goon squad, and drugging of prisoners become public.

The public outcry, stirred up many months ago by the outrageous violation of civil rights in a police drug raid in Fort Erie and police violence on the Artistic Woodworkers picket line last year, has also been directed at the system of plea-bargaining which oils the Canadian judicial system by extracting pleas of guilt to lesser offences in return for the reduction in charges. The October 25 Globe revealed how plea-bargaining resulted in the suppression of evidence against a criminal in return for his silence about how the Toronto police tortured a confession from him.

Public indignation has already given rise to a Royal Commission to investigate thirteen accusations published in the Globe, a Metro Police Commission "investigation" of its "complaint bureau", another Metro police investigation of police violence and a public inquiry into the Don Jail. The quantity of facts piling up daily and the willingness of so many people to speak out may make it impossible for these investigations to perform their usual function of whitewashing the police force and postponing any action.

Metro's top cop, Chief Harold Adamson, has already set the theme for the defence: the cops are being brutalized by the criminals they have to deal with and frustrated by the odds against them. The solution is, of course, more money to the cops. Sydney Brown, Toronto Police Association president, has adopted the more modest posture of arguing that "far less than one percent" of the cops are involved in the violence.

Metropolitan Toronto is far from alone in having a police force which uses violence systematically in carrying out its tasks. The controversy in Toronto rages at the same time as the Samson revelations, the breakup of the Ottawa Native demonstration, allegations of police violence in Winnipeg and other Canadian cities and revelations of clandestine US Military Intelligence operations in Montreal.

The real clue to the source and nature of police violence lies in the nature of our society, whose main feature is its division into classes. The brutalization of the police is a product of the brutalization of capitalist society. The vast network of corporate wealth, owned in bulk by a tiny group of wealthy families, must be protected from expropriation, public or private. Petty criminals, responsible for most property crimes processed through Canada's judicial system, usually come from a social strata that is unemployed, uneducated, poor and transient. These criminals inspire pity much more than fear as they parade before the judicial tribunals of Canada.

The fight against organized crime is also not a major concern of the rulers of Canada as the Samson hearings in Montreal have revealed. On the contrary, they are often intimately linked. But these hearings revealed also the real target of police violence as tales of goons being paid $200 a day to protect Steinberg's property became public.

What the wealthy few who rule Canada really fear is the organized might of the mass movements and social protests continually arising from the ranks of the workers. The use of the army, the RCMP and police to intimidate workers, Indians, Blacks, demonstrators, political dissidents, students and youth is a daily fact. Every social protest of importance, the rise of the antiwar movement, the Quebec independentist struggle, major strikes and other political confrontations has brought to the public attention stories of repression, violence, fabrication of evidence and intimidation. Every police station has its own private Watergate and every policeman has been an accomplice by silence or actual involvement in the maintenance of the brutaality of the entire social system.

A certain mentality inevitably develops among police which if featured in the case of Toronto's finest by the wearing of miniature crossed gun tie-clips and handcuff cufflinks. "Police tend to maintain the boundaries between their world and the rest of society with a very clear distinction between 'we' and 'them'", said H. Taylor Buckner of Sir George Williams University's Department of Sociology August 26 in an address to the Canadian Sociology and Anthropology Association. "Police exist outside the rest of society in a culture built on deceit, secrecy, suspicion, conservatism and solidarity," he told the annual gathering.

The existence of a socially isolated, self-governing police force which can quickly move to break strikes or bust up a demonstration is a threat to all those movements and individuals who seek to preserve the democratic rights won by years of struggle and agitation. At a time when social tensions in a disillusioned post-Watergate era are at their highest, and when massive labor struggles loom into view as the only response to soaring inflation, the issue of public control of police takes on a crucial significance. The creation of an independent elected citizens' review board, with full power to investigate and punish police offenders in full public view, is the first step towards demobilizing this armed detachment of capitalist rule.